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A Short Sketch
OF THE
Indian Trails of Pennsylvania

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Reprinted from the Proceedings and Collections of the
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Volume XVII.

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A SHORT SKETCH OF THE INDIAN TRAILS OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

BY GEORGE P. DONEHOO, of Coudersport, Pa.
Secretary Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

I wish it to be understood at the commencement of this address that I do not expect to cover the entire theme of the Trails of Pennsylvania in anything like an exhaustive manner. It would be impossible for me to attempt to do so in one evening's talk. Just as impossible, in fact, as it would be for me to attempt to give a history of all of the roads and highways of the State which have been used by the white man.

In order to rightly understand the material which I wish to present, the hearer must be somewhat familiar with the main facts concerning the history of the Indian tribes which occupied the region now included in the State of Pennsylvania, and also with the physical geography of this most historic region.

The relative positions of the habitats of the tribes and of their villages, as well as those of the hunting and fishing grounds, had much to do with the general directions of the trails.

The mountain ranges, valleys, rivers, creeks, in fact all of the topographical features of the country, had a great deal to do with the courses followed by the trails from one point to another. As much, if not more, these features have influenced the course of highways and railroads.

It may be said, broadly speaking, that the present railroad map of the State is a fairly good map of the system of Indian trails, or more properly "roads", which once threaded it in a winding and interlacing network. There is hardly a railroad in the State which does not follow the course of a former trail of the Red Man. In fact, there is hardly a

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highway in the entire State which does not follow, in the main, the course of one of the Indian trails. The Indian warrior or trader or hunter knew as well as the most trained engineer the best course and the most direct one from one point to another. So well did the Red Man lay out his course from one watershed to another and from one valley to another, through the various mountain gaps and over the divides, that when the white man surveyed the course for his trail of steel, he followed, almost without exception, the exact course of the old Indian road.

It seems somewhat strange that the best course for the Indian hunter or trader, who travelled on foot, was also the best course for the white man who travelled on horse-back, in coach, in Pullman or automobile. Conditions have changed so greatly that one would imagine that better highways could be discovered. But, such is not the case. The modern limited speeds over a course which was laid out centuries ago by the Indian warrior or hunter. The up-to-date touring car glides over a highway the course of which was trodden by the feet of the Red Man for countless generations. In some cases where the railroad or highway departs from the course of the old Indian trail, it does so without any real advantage. In many cases the railroad or highway has been turned back to the exact course of the trail—on account of snow drifts in winter and wash-outs in summer. The Indian, the trader's pony, the horse of steel all need the same thing to keep them going. The throbbing locomotive needs water to keep it alive, no less than did the Indian or the trader's pony. The modern railroad which does not pass near a good water supply is obliged to conduct water to its course. Several Indian trails of more ancient times were obliged to be abandoned because of the absence of water, and the consequent absence of game. Water is one of the absolute necessities of savage and of civilized man. His food supply is dependent upon its presence. The savage could not live where there was

no water, not only because he needed the water, but also because there was no game save where there was water. Modern industry and civilization would come to a stop without water. The savage, or primitive man, built his villages along sparkling streams of water, just as the white man has built his cities and town along rivers and his villages and hamlets along creeks and runs.

Nearly all of the Indian trails took into consideration the following physical features: The kind of ground, the grade and the water supply. Solid ground was always taken in preference to ground which was swampy, whenever such was possible. Gaps through mountains were always taken rather than steep ascents over high ridges. Paths ran from one water-course to another, or from one spring to another, often going out of a direct course in order to reach these. These factors being taken into consideration, the most direct course between points was always chosen. Where possible, a trail kept to the high ground along a ridge, in order to avoid the floods and soft ground during the spring and fall, and the snow drifts during the winter. Some of the present highways and railroads are almost impassable in winter because of the deep snow in the cuts which have been made in order to have a more direct course to a given point. The Indian sought the direct course, but where the direct course meant deep snow, he took the more round about way. Of course deep cuts and defiles were avoided in war times and on war paths because of the danger of ambush. However, in a region where there was no danger from hidden foes and where a cut through a narrow valley made a great saving in distance, the creek defiles were used during the summer season. For this reason one trail was used in the winter season and another trail in the summer time. I have been over several such summer and winter routes. One is on the Catawba Trail near the historic Stewart's Crossings, where one trail runs down to the Youghioghenny river through the valley of Robinson's Run. The other trail

follows the high ground along a ridge near Gist's Plantation, reaching the river at the mouth of the run. In the summer the trail down the valley is the better and in the winter the trail on the ridge is almost clear of snow, while the trail in the valley is almost filled with snow drifts. Another good illustration is found in the forking of the trails leading to Fort Duquesne.

The Indian could thus change his highway to suit conditions. The confusion in various authors concerning the course of the main Indian trails is due in some measure to the fact that the same general trail is often divided into two or even more trails, at various points. A part of the Main Trail was abandoned for the time being because of deep snow, floods, soft ground, or danger of ambush. The difference in the courses of these Main Trails are shown in the various "Journals" of the early traders, missionaries and explorers.


THE TRAIL SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The three great river systems of the State of Pennsylvania—the Delaware, Susquehanna and Ohio—with the upper Potomac, might be called the main arteries of the system of trails of the State. The most prominent points on all of the trails were on these streams, and as a consequence, all the trails led along them or to them. The various "Forks" on these streams, where two main tributaries met, were sort of focal points, towards which all main trails led. The "Forks of the Delaware", at Easton; the "Forks of the Susquehanna", at Athens and Sunbury; the "Forks of the Ohio", at Pittsburgh; the "Forks of the Potomac" at Cumberland, Maryland, and the various points where a large creek flows into a river are all illustrations of this fact.

For this reason all of the large Indian villages in the State, with the single exception of Logstown, were situated at the "forks" of two streams. The names of these villages in most cases had reference to their situation, Lechauwekink



Trail along the Potomac, now the course of a Highway and Canal.



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(Easton), Tioga (Athens), Deondega (Pittsburgh). All of which signify "at the forks".

These villages together with Caiuctecuc, on the Potomac, Pequea, Conestoga, Shamokin, Wyoming, Sheshequin, and other villages on or near the Susquehanna; Kittanning, Venango, Conewango, Chartiers Town, Logstown, Sacunk, on the Allegheny and Ohio; Kuskuski, Shenango and others on the Beaver, and the various villages on the Delaware, Schuylkill and Lehigh were all united by a system of trails. All of the large cities and towns, without an exception, occupy the sites of former Indian villages, which were as important trail centres as these cities and towns are now railroad and highway centres.

To give a comprehensive and scientific address upon the Trails of the State would include a history of the importance of these various Indian villages and of the commerce which was carried on between them. Such is impossible.

The Indian Trails may be roughly classified as Hunting Trails, Trading Trails and War Trails. Of course some of the trails were used for all of these purposes. But, as a general rule the classification will hold good.

The Trading and the Hunting Trails as a rule ran east and west, and the War Trails ran north and south. The reason why the hunting and the trading trails ran east and west was because of the situation of the various tribes to the hunting grounds and the trading points, as well as because this was the general direction of the migration of the various tribes as they were driven from the coast region. These tribes were followed by the traders who went westward to trade with the Indians, who had been their customers in the east. The old Hunting Trails which had been used by the Delaware and Shawnee between the Delaware and Susquehanna and the Ohio and Muskingum, then became the trading trails over which passed the pack-horses of the Indian traders.

The reason why nearly all, if not all, the War Trails ran

north and south was because the northern Indians, comprising the Delaware, Shawnee and Iroquois, had been at war with the southern Indians, the Catawba and Cherokee "since the world began", according to the statement of the Iroquois chiefs. This war continued until all of the Indians had been driven out of the region east of the Ohio river by the white settlers. Even after the establishment of Fort Pitt the Iroquois frequently went on their raids southward by way of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. There were no war paths running east and west because the Iroquois had practically overcome all of the tribes as far westward as the Mississippi river. The trail used in these expeditions against the western Indians was along the southern shore of Lake Erie or down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers.

THE WAR TRAILS.

The time when the war of the northern tribes with the southern tribes commenced cannot be fixed with any exactness. It was, doubtless before the formation of the League of the Iroquois, when the various Iroquoian tribes were carrying on their destructive wars with each other. It may have been due to the conditions which led to the expulsion of the Talligewi (Cherokee) from the upper waters of the Ohio. The Catawba were probably driven southward at the same time. It is now generally accepted that the tribes mentioned once occupied the region at the headwaters of the Ohio river, and that they were driven from it by the Iroquois.

The same conditions which led to the wars of the Iroquois with the Erie, Neuter, Wenro and Andaste (Susquehanna), probably led to the driving out of the Cherokee and Catawba. The fact that the Delaware and Shawnee, of the Algonkian family, were engaged in this war on the side of the Iroquois would seem to indicate a commencement of the hostility before the expulsion of the Talligewi from the Allegheny river.

The dispersion of the Talligewi and Catawba from the upper Ohio, the eastward migration of the Delaware and the northward and eastward migration of the Iroquois was probably due to the same causes which lie back of all such movements of humanity—the increase of population above the food supply and the necessity of seeking new fields for hunting and fishing. The stronger people will not only drive away the weaker but commence a war of extermination, as well as of conquest. The war will go on even after the original cause has been removed or forgotten.

The Cherokee and Catawba were driven southward; the Delaware migrated eastward to the river where they were living when the continent was discovered, and some of the Iroquoian tribes occupied the region along the Juniata and Susquehanna rivers, while the main body of the Iroquoian tribes settled in the region in western New York and Canada. The time, or the order of these migrations cannot be stated in exact terms.

At the time of the commencement of the historic period the Ohio and Allegheny rivers were under the domination of the Iroquois; the Susquehanna, including the West Branch, under the control of the Susquehannock, or Andaste, and the Delaware and its various tributaries, under the Lenni Lenape, of the Algonkian family.

The Iroquois of New York were at war with all of the Iroquoian tribes to the south of their habitat, including the Erie, the Wenro, the Neuter, the Andaste, the Cherokee and the Siouan tribe the Catawba. The Shawnee had not then entered the boundaries of the State. The war between the Iroquois and the Lenni Lenape had ended when the latter became "women" with no right to bear arms. The Delaware and the Susquehannocks were at peace with each other, and there were then no tribes living on the Ohio river. For these reasons all War Trails led southward from the Iroquois country.

The formation of the Iroquois Confederation, about 1570,

gave to the Five Nations of the Iroquoian group a power which was overwhelming to all of the other Indian tribes. The war parties of the Five Nations went westward along Lake Erie and southward along the Allegheny and Ohio to the Carolinas and to the Mississippi, carrying death and ruin to all of their foes. They conquered, or blotted out, of their related tribes, the Erie, the Wenro, the Neuter and the Andaste. The Cherokee were spared the fate of these other tribes simply because the development of the Anglo-Saxon civilization on the continent placed white settlements between the two peoples.

The Iroquois Confederation was developing into a nation, in the civilized sense of the term, when its development was arrested by the white man's domination of the continent. It had reached about the same stage of development as that of the Scottish Clans, before the dawn of the history of modern Scotland. Had the development of the Iroquois Confederation gone on, without external interference of the Anglo-Saxon culture, it no doubt would have ultimately produced a Nation of the type of the ancient Nations.

HUNTING AND TRADING TRAILS.

It is evident that trade was carried on between the Indians of widely separated regions long before the coming of the white man. Articles of copper, obsidian, shell, etc., have been found in mounds far distant from the places where these materials belong. Various copper artifacts have been found in the ancient Andaste burial mounds on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. The Iroquois were familiar with the country as far west as the Black Hills of Dakota, and there is little doubt but that they had gone as far south as the mouth of the Mississippi. It has been stated that the Algonkian tribes journeyed from the Atlantic seaboard to the mountains of Montana.

There was a sort of inter-tribal law for the protection of these agents of commerce, even during war times.

When John Smith explored the lower Susquehanna in 1608 he found the Susquehannocks in possession of articles which had evidently been obtained in trade with the Indians of the Lake Superior region, as well as articles which had been obtained from the Dutch traders about Albany.

The early Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware carried on a trade with these Susquehanna Indians, whom they called Minquas, as soon as these settlements were made.

The Great Trunk Line Trails, as they may be called, which ran from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Saskatchewan were all connected with the Great Trails of Pennsylvania. For example, the trail from the Delaware to the Ohio, joined the Great Trail which ran down the Ohio river. This connected with the Warriors Trail which ran through the Cumberland Gap and with the Natchez Trail which ran southward through Nashville to New Orleans. The overland trail from Nashville to Pittsburgh ran through Chillicothe and Zanesville. This "Natchez Trail" was long used by the traders and boatmen returning to Pittsburgh from New Orleans, long after the Indians had ceased to use it.

The Great Trail down the Ohio river also had connection with the Santa Fe and the Oregon Trails. It was, therefore, possible for the Indian trader to go from any point on any of the trails of Pennsylvania to any point on any trail on the continent. Just as much so, in fact, as it is possible now to reach any point on the continent over the railroads which run from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh, or from any point on any railroad connecting with the trunk lines.

To give an account of all of the connections and branches of the main Indian trails of this State would be, therefore, as difficult as to give a complete outline of all of the branches of the main railroads in the same region. The Iroquois Trail from the Genesee valley, the Delaware Trail from the site of Philadelphia, as well as all of the other main trails

from the upper Delaware, Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers connected these regions with every other part of the continent, just as truly as do the present trails of steel.

When the white man came to the continent these Indian paths soon became the beaten paths of the traders, who followed the Red Man to his villages on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and even the distant shores of the Pacific.

TRAILS FROM THE DELAWARE TO THE SUSQUEHANNA.

It is a difficult matter to tell which trail was first used between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers. No doubt the Indians passed between these streams long before the coming of the European in their trade with each other. It would seem that the trails from the upper waters of the Susquehanna to the headwaters of the Delaware, and thence to the Hudson, were used by the Susquehanna Indians, called Minquas by the Dutch, long before there were any Dutch or Swedish settlements on the lower Delaware. The Susquehannocks mentioned by John Smith in 1608, were evidently carrying on a trade with the Dutch on the Hudson, as he was told by the Nanticokes that the iron hatchets which they had had been obtained from the Susquehannocks. It is possible that the Susquehannocks obtained these from the Dutch traders on the Hudson river. If so, they had probably gone over the trail from the upper Susquehanna river to the Delaware, near Cohecton, and from thence to Esopus (Kingston) by way of the trail which was later used by the Dutch and which was later known as the "old mine road". This trail followed the Mamakating Valley, north of the Shawangunk mountains, and the valley along the Mackhackemack (Mohawk) Branch of the Delaware into the Minisinks. From there the trail ran westward to the Susquehanna at Wilkes-Barre. The author is of the opinion that this trail was used by Arnold Viele in 1692-94, when on his way to the Ohio river, and by which he returned with the Shawnee who settled along the upper

Delaware. Viele was a Dutch trader from Albany, and would doubtless take the trail which led southward from the present Kingston to Cochection on the Delaware. This trail ran westward from Cochection, through Little Meadows, across the Moosic mountains to Capouse (Scranton) and thence to Wyoming. This trail seems to have been the first westward trail across the present State of Pennsylvania to the Ohio river. It was also probably the course followed by the "Black Minquas", from the Ohio, in their trading with the Dutch. The Wenro were associated with this unidentified tribe in carrying on this trade. The Wenro at that time occupied the upper waters of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, and the "Black Minquas" the upper waters of the Ohio and Allegheny. The natural route for both of these tribes would be across the watershed from the Allegheny river to the West Branch and then down to Sunbury and from thence by the old trail to Wyoming (Wilkes-Barre) and then across to the Delaware by the trail through the present Scranton, or by the trail leading to the Water Gap. The Connecticut settlers followed this trail from the Hudson river to Wyoming when that region was first occupied by the white man. They would naturally follow the most direct and the most used course. Such has been the course followed in the settlement of all parts of the State—the old Indian trails becoming the route followed by the frontier settlers. Minisink, in New Jersey, was one of the oldest and most prominent Indian villages near the Delaware. The trail westward from this village westward, ran across Pike county to the headwaters of the Lackawanna, and then down that stream to the Susquehanna and on through Wyoming. Another trail ran westward from the Delaware Water Gap to Wyoming. A branch of this trail ran southward to Easton, at the "Forks of the Delaware", through the Wind Gap. This branch, with the main trail to Wyoming, was that which was used by the army of General John Sullivan in 1779. It joined the trail from

the Delaware at the former Indian village of Pechoquealin, about twenty-eight miles north of Easton. The route from Easton, or the "Forks", to Wyoming was about as follows: Up Bushkill creek to the foot of Blue mountains, near Hellerville; through the Wind Gap to Saylorsburg, on to near Tannersville (which was on the trail from the present Stroudsburg) over Pocono mountain, near Hungry Hill, Monroe county; through the Great Swamp to Burnt Plain, or Barren Hills, Luzerne county, twelve miles from Wilkes-Barre, and thence to Wyoming. The distance from Easton to Wyoming by this route is sixty-five miles. A very good map of this trail is given in "General John Sullivan's Indian Expedition of 1779", published by the State of New York. It was drawn by Benjamin Lodge, the surveyor of the expedition.

The trail at Easton, at the mouth of the Lehigh, was joined by the trail which led to the present Bethlehem, where it joined a number of trails leading to the lower Delaware, to Sunbury, as well as the trail leading to Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg). The various trails which intersected at Bethlehem are said to have been the reason why the name Lechau, "Forks", was given to the region and then to the river (Memorials of the Moravian Church, I. 23). The name, however, was that which was applied to the forks at Easton, and was later applied to the river and the region between the "forks". One branch of the trail from Bethlehem ran northward through the Wind Gap, where it joined the trail from Easton to Wyoming and to Stroudsburg. This was a part of the course followed by Zinzendorf in 1742 (Journal of Zinzendorf, in Memorials of the Moravian Church, I. 23-28). Another branch of this same trail ran northward or northwestward, to Weissport, or to the old Indian village of Meniolagomeka. This trail was frequently used by the Moravian Indians in passing from Bethlehem to Philadelphia. Another branch ran almost due south to Philadelphia, and another branch southwest to the mouth of

Maiden creek, on the Schuylkill river, north of the present Reading, joining the trail to Tulpehocken and to Harris' Ferry. This trail was frequently used by Conrad Weiser in his trips to Paxtang, near Harrisburg, and a part of it was used by Bishop Cammerhoff in his journey to Shamokin (Sunbury) in 1748. Cammerhoff went to Shamokin from Harris' Ferry by the trail leading along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna, but returned to Bethlehem by the trail leading across the country from the mouth of Mahanoy creek. This trail is noted on Evan's map of 1749 and on Scull's map of 1770. It was frequently used by the travelers to Shamokin, as well as by the Indians in their raids into the Tulpehocken settlements after 1755.

I have gone somewhat into details concerning these trails from the upper waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna to show what I think is true concerning the trail followed by Arnold Viele in 1692 as being the oldest trail from the Delaware to the Ohio. According to the legend on the maps of John Smith's explorations in 1608 the Wenro and the "Black Minquas" were then carrying on the trade with the Dutch on the Hudson, which was reached by the trail from the upper waters of the Allegheny by way of the West Branch and the Wyoming Valley. Stephen Brule made his trip down the Susquehanna from Carantouan in 1615-16, and was probably the first white man to pass through the Wyoming Valley. If there were others, they have left no record. Arnold Viele was the first white man to pass through the Wyoming Valley over the trail leading westward to the Ohio.

The trails from the lower Delaware to the Susquehanna were used by the Andaste (Susquehannock, Conestoga, Minqua) in travelling to the villages of the Lenni Lenape on the Delaware long before the settlements of the Dutch and Swedes. From 1630 the Swedish settlers on the Delaware carried on an extensive trade with the Susquehanna

Indians, who reached the trading posts on the river by various trails. These trails ran from the mouths of Octorara, Conewago, Pequea and Conestoga creeks to the headwaters of White Clay, Brandywine, and Chester creeks and to the Schuylkill river. One of the earliest and most used trails was that which ran from Conestoga, near Lancaster, up Conestoga creek to near its headwaters and then across to French creek and down that stream to the Schuylkill. An overland route from the same point followed, in the main, the present highway from Lancaster to Philadelphia. In 1717, when John Evans, the Governor of the Province, visited Conestoga, he went over the trail from New Castle to the mouth of Octorara creek, then up the Susquehanna to the mouth of Pequea creek and up that stream to Conestoga—after a visit at Dekanoagah. In returning they went to Paxtang and then back to Philadelphia over the trail leading through Tulpehocken. (Colonial Records, II 385-90).

The main trails from the upper Delaware were directed toward Wyoming and Tioga Point, and the trails from the lower Delaware towards Conestoga and the various villages at the sites of the present Pequea, Octorara, Columbia, Bainbridge and Harrisburg. As Conestoga was the chief Susquehanna village on the eastern shore of the lower river, before the advent of the white man, it was no doubt the chief point towards which all of the trails on the lower Delaware led.

The Susquehannock Indians were familiar with the site of Shackamaxon, which was evidently a meeting place long before William Penn landed upon the shores of the Delaware. The "Minquas" (Susquehannocks) met the various "river Indians" (Delaware) at this place in 1677 to make peace with the Iroquois (Records of the Court at Upland, 49). A number of trails led from the lower Delaware to the Potomac and southward.

TRAILS FROM THE UPPER SUSQUEHANNA, WESTWARD.

1. *The Tioga Trail.* The most northern trail from the Susquehanna over the Allegheny divide was a branch of the Warriors Trail, which ran up the eastern shore of the Susquehanna from Wyoming (Wilkes-Barre). It left the Susquehanna river at Tioga Point, following the Chemung river along the northern shore to Painted Post, near Corning, where it crossed the river and ran southward along the Tioga river to the mouth of the Cowanesque, near Lawrenceville. From this point it ran up the northern shore of the Cowanesque to the divide between the Allegheny, the Genesee and the West Branch, near the present town of Ulysses. The three branches of the Genesee, in Potter county, marked the course of the trails leading to the Seneca villages to the north along the Genesee river. The westward trail crossed the headwaters of the Genesee and struck the headwaters of the Allegheny near Raymond, and passed on down the river through Colesburg, Coudersport, Burtville to Port Allegheny, where it joined the trail leading from the Seneca villages along the Big Bend of the Allegheny river to the West Branch, near the present Emporium Junction, and ran on down to the Big Island at Lock Haven, where it connected with the trails leading up the Bald Eagle Valley and down the West Branch to Shamokin (Sunbury). The main westward trail, of the Tioga Trail, continued on down the Allegheny from Port Allegheny to Olean, and then on down the western shore of the river to Warren, Tionesta, Franklin, Kittanning and Pittsburgh. There were various fording places on the Allegheny river where the other trails leading from Venango, Kuskuski, on the Beaver, and other points eastward, crossed.

The trail from Tioga Point to the Allegheny was a "forbidden path" into the Seneca country, over which white men were not permitted to go. It was used by the Seneca in reaching the various branches of the Warriors Trail, by way of Pine creek, the Chemung river and other branches which

struck the main trail on the Susquehanna and the West Branch. John Hays and Christian F. Post reached the village called Passigachkunk, near Knoxville, in 1760, when on their way to the Ohio, but were here turned back by the Iroquois who said that white men were not allowed to pass over this trail (Archives of Penna. III 738-739). In 1767, when David Zeisberger was on his way to the mouth of the Tionesta, by way of this trail, he refers to the fact of this being a "forbidden trail" in his journals of the trip (Life and Times of David Zeisberger, 321-325; also, Zeisberger's Journals, of 1767-68, in Archives of Moravian Church, at Bethlehem). This trail was what might be called a war trail. It was never a trading trail to any great extent. The trail from Wyoming, up the Susquehanna was followed by the army of General Sullivan, in 1779, as far as Elmira, near which place the battle of Newtown took place. The course of this trail is very clearly outlined on the maps of Sullivan's Expedition. The trail from Tioga Point up the Chemung to Painted Post and down the Tioga river and then up the Cowanesque, was used by the hostile Indians during the entire period of the frontier wars, in taking captives to the various Seneca and Munsee villages. Captives were carried to these villages from the Cumberland valley, from the West Branch and from other points where raids had been made (Archives of Penna. III 44, 46, 56-57). Canadea, the most southern Seneca village on the Genesee, was the point from which many of the war parties started on their raids into the white settlements on the West Branch, Bald Eagle valley and other places along the frontier.

Charles A. Hanna, in the Wilderness Trail, says that this was probably the course followed by Arnold Viele in 1692, when on his way to the Ohio. This is hardly possible. Viele went from the upper Delaware over the trail to Wyoming and then down to Shamokin where he took the Shamokin Trail to Kittanning. This would be his shortest and

most natural course. To take the Tioga Trail was a much more round about and difficult course. The Tioga Trail was not used by white men until David Zeisberger went over it in 1767. One can see why Zeisberger took this course in order to reach the Tionesta. But there is no reason why Viele should take it in order to reach the Shawnee villages on the lower Ohio.

Another branch of this trail crossed from the headwaters of the Tioga river to the head of Lycoming creek, and then on down the creek to the West Branch, where it joined the main West Branch Trail to Shamokin. Near the headwaters of Lycoming creek this trail joined the trail leading to Elmira, New York. The line of the Northern Central Railroad follows the course of this trail, in the main, from Elmira to Williamsport.

Another branch ran southward over the divide from near Coudersport to the headwaters of the Sinnemahoning and down that stream to the West Branch, near the present town of Sinnemahoning. None of these trails were used to any extent by traders. They were used as hunting trails and as branches leading southward to the main Warriors Path. In the region near the headwaters of the Genesee, West Branch and Allegheny rivers there were no Indian villages of any importance at any period, either historic or pre-historic. Any villages, so called, were simply hunting or fishing camps. The whole region is rough and broken. During the Indian period it was covered with a heavy growth of pine and hemlock forests. Ridge trails were impossible because of the broken hills. The valleys were swampy and covered with immense hemlock trees and almost impenetrable growths of underbrush. It was little used by the Indians, save for occasional hunting and fishing. As it stood at the "Western Door" of the "Long House" of the Iroquois, which was guarded by the Seneca, there was practically no admittance to this region to a white man, save as a captive being taken over the trails to the Seneca villages

in New York. The region south of this trail is still the most undeveloped and the wildest and least inhabited of any part of the State.

2. *The Sheshequin Trail.* This trail ran up Towanda creek to its headwaters and then across to the headwaters of Lycoming creek and down that stream to the West Branch. It had probably been used by the Andaste, or Susquehannock, in passing from the villages along the West Branch to their fortifications at Carantouan, near Waverly. One of these villages, Utchowig, was situated somewhere between Lock Haven and Williamsport, most probably at the mouth of Pine Creek. The various earthen mounds and stockaded fortifications which were found in this region at the mouth of Pine and Lycoming creeks were probably the works of these Andaste or Susquehannock Indians. Such a fortification is noted on the Lewis Evans map of 1749 at the mouth of "Tiadachton" which is the present Lycoming creek, instead of Pine Creek as it was once wrongly understood. Some of the fortifications in this region seem to have been palisaded, as were the Conestoga forts on the lower Susquehanna. Most unfortunately all of these most interesting remains were destroyed by the early settlers, or by later investigators and vandals, who plundered the various burial sites of all the relics, without leaving any scientific data concerning the mounds or their contents. The relics taken from these mounds consisted of all sorts of flint implements, pottery, pipes, copper ornaments, etc. It is to be forever regretted that none of these mounds were left for scientific investigation. It is almost certain that the Wenro and Andaste occupied this region long before historic times. Many most interesting problems concerning the West Branch might be solved if some of these mounds had been allowed to remain. It is to be hoped that some mound may yet be discovered which has escaped the ravages of the early vandals. About the best collection of artifacts found in this region is in possession of Dr. Stewart at Lock Haven.

The pipes found in this region are similar to those found along the lower Susquehanna and at Athens and also bear a strong resemblance to the pipes found at the early Erie burial sites in New York.

The West Branch valley, where all of these Andaste sites occur, is connected directly by the Bald Eagle Valley and Spring creek with the Juniata valley. The old trail ran by way of these various villages to Standing Stone (Huntingdon), where it joined the main Warriors Trail into the Carolinas. It may be possible that the unidentified tribe of the Juniata valley was simply a branch of the Andaste or Susquehannock.

3. *The Wyalusing Trail.* This trail ran from Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna, up Sugar creek to its head and then across to the head of the Loyal Sock and directly across to the head of Muncy creek and down that stream to the West Branch at the present Muncy. This trail was probably used by the Andaste in going to the village of Oscalui. It was the course taken by the Moravian Indians, led by John Ettwein in 1772, as they went westward to the Allegheny from their deserted village on the Susquehanna. According to Ettwein's Journal they reached the West Branch about five miles above the mouth of Muncy creek.

4. *The Wyoming Trails.* There were a number of trails westward from Wyoming to the West Branch and the Allegheny. The most direct route was that which ran from Plymouth to the mouth of Warriors Run, near Watsontown. This trail ran almost due west, and was a part of the Warriors Path to the Big Island, at Lock Haven. Another trail ran down the Susquehanna to Nescopeck Gap, through Huntington valley to Fishing creek, up that stream to its headwaters and thence across to Muncy creek. Several trails ran down the river to Shamokin. The "trail through the valley", as it was called, ran southward, striking the head of Wapwallopen valley and down it to the mouth of the creek, crossing the river near Hicks Ferry, and joining

the trail southward on the western side of the Susquehanna. This trail along the western shore ran to the present Northumberland, from Plymouth, where it joined the trail up the West Branch. It was the course of the troops which joined Sullivan's expedition at Wyoming in 1779, Fort Augusta, at Sunbury, being the starting point.

Another trail ran down the eastern shore of the Susquehanna through Nescopeck, being a continuation of the "trail through the valley" mentioned before. It ran to the headwaters of Shamokin creek and then down that stream to the opening in the hills a short distance east of Sunbury. These trails are noted on the Scull maps of 1759 and 1770, and also on the Manor Map of Pomfret, No. 52, in the Archives of Pennsylvania, Third Series, Vol. IV.

Several trails ran eastward from these main trails southward. One ran from Nescopeck through the gap and up the creek to its headwaters and then across to the headwaters of Nesquehoning creek and down to the Lehigh. Another ran from the mouth of Catawissa creek up that stream to its head and then across to the headwaters of the Schuylkill.

5. *The Shamokin Trail.* The main trail westward from Shamokin (Sunbury) crossed the river near Packer's Island to Northumberland and then on up the West Branch through Muncy, Williamsport, Jersey Shore to the Great Island, at Lock Haven. Here it joined the trails leading up the Bald Eagle valley and up the West Branch to Driftwood and Emporium and then over the divide to the waters of the Allegheny which were reached at Canoe Place (now Port Allegheny). At Lock Haven the main trail westward to the lower Allegheny river went up the Bald Eagle valley to the mouth of Beech creek and up that stream to its headwaters and then on to Clearfield and Kittanning. The greater part of this trail was the course of John Ettwein and the Moravian Indians in 1772. C. F. Post also followed this trail from Shamokin in 1758, when on his way to



Kittanning Point, near Horseshoe Bend, where the Kittanning Trail crossed the Allegheny Mountains.

Kuskuski. He left the Kittanning end of the trail at Clearfield, taking the branch which led across the present Clearfield, Jefferson and Clarion counties, to Venango (now Franklin). From there he went westward over the Venango Trail to the Beaver river. A branch of this trail ran southward, from about Snow Shoe, to Frankstown, near Hollidaysburg, where it connected with the trails leading down the Juniata and into the Cumberland valley.

The main trail up the Bald Eagle valley, which left the Shamokin Trail near the mouth of Marsh or Beech creek, ran through the gap in the Bald Eagle mountains at Milesburg and on up to the head of Spring creek and over the divide to the present huntingdon, where it connected with the main Warriors Path. Another branch of this Bald Eagle Valley Trail ran on to Tyrone, where it connected with a branch of the Frankstown Trail, leading down the Juniata, through the Narrows to Huntingdon. From this point the main trail ran through Jack's Narrows to Mount Union, where the trail again divided, one branch running southward to the Black Log, and the other on down the Juniata. At Tyrone a trail ran westward to Frankstown, where it connected with Kittanning Trail and also with the Raystown (Bedford) Trail.

Another trail from Shamokin crossed the Susquehanna at Sunbury and passed through the gap in the Blue Hill and ran through Lewisburg to Lock Haven, where it connected with the Bald Eagle and Shamokin Trails. A branch of this trail ran up the Buffalo Valley through Mifflinburg to Bellefonte where it connected with the trails just mentioned in the Bald Eagle Valley.

Still another trail from Sunbury ran down the western shore of the river, through Shamokin dam, Selinsgrove, etc., to the mouth of the Juniata, where it connected with the Juniata Trail. There were trails leading westward from the Susquehanna through almost every gap in the mountains connecting with the Warriors Path, the Kittanning Trail,

the Frankstown Trail and the other westward trails which have been mentioned.

6. *The Juniata Trail* ran up the Juniata river, from its mouth to Standing Stone (Huntingdon) along the northern shore of the river for the greater part of the way. This trail was not much used as a trading trail to the Ohio as the Allegheny Trail, the Raystown Trail and the Frankstown Trail were more direct and better in every way.

TRAILS FROM THE LOWER SUSQUEHANNA, WESTWARD.

The most important trails westward from the Delaware and Susquehanna to the Ohio river ran across the Cumberland Valley. These trails were used by the Susquehanna and Delaware and later by the Shawnee, as hunting and fishing trails. They became the trails of migration of the Delaware and Shawnee westward to the Ohio. They then became the trails by which the traders followed the Indians to the Ohio. Then they became the military highways by which a continent was won, and then they became the pathway of Anglo-Saxon migration by which a vast Empire was established.

The northern trail from Shamokin to the Ohio was the course followed by many of the Delaware and Shawnee from the upper Delaware and from Wyoming and Shamokin as they migrated westward. But, the first migrations of the Delaware and Shawnee from the villages on the lower Delaware and Susquehanna were by these southern trails.

In order to get a general knowledge of these trails it is necessary to have in mind the topography of the region through which they passed. The Kittatinny, or North Mountain, runs along the northern boundary of the Cumberland Valley from the Potomac to the Susquehanna. It is broken at various places by "gaps" through which ran these western trails into Path Valley, which was bounded on the northwest by the Tuscarora Mountains. The gaps in the



Trail down the Juniata river, Pennsylvania, now a Highway of Steel.

Kittatinny Mountains, commencing at the Susquehanna, are as follows: Stephens, Croghan's or Sterrett's, northwest of Carlisle; Crain's, Forty Shillings, or Long's; Hurley's, or Waggoners, northwest of Newville; McClure's; Doubling, north of Newville; McAllister's or Roxberry, northwest of Shippensburg; Yankee, north of Chambersburg; and the gap, or broad valley, which joins Path Valley with the Cumberland Valley at Parnell's Knob, near Fort Loudon. All of these gaps were gateways through the lofty Kittatinny Mountains through which passed the trails to the Ohio. Various trails ran southward through the Cumberland Valley from the Susquehanna to the Potomac.

The chief gaps in the South Mountain, which bounds the southern side of the Cumberland Valley, are: Trent's Gap, south of Carlisle; and Lindsay's, or Black Gap, southeast of Chambersburg. These two gaps were the chief gateways for the trails to the lower Susquehanna, through York to Lancaster, and to the Indian villages on the lower Susquehanna. The gap at Mount Holly, Dill's Gap, was also the course of a trail to the Shawnee village at LeTort's Spring. These trails through the South Mountain have become the lines followed by the highways leading east and west—the Lincoln Highway following the old Indian trail from Chambersburg to Lancaster.

These main trails from the Delaware to the Ohio can be located more accurately than many of the other trails because so many explorers, traders and military engineers went over them and have left journals and maps giving the exact course followed.

Conrad Weiser went westward to Logstown on the Ohio in 1748, on the first official mission of the Province to the western Indians. The journal of this trip is given in Colonial Records Vol. V, 348-358. In the Archives of Pennsylvania, Vol. II, 12-13, extracts are given from this journal with tables of distances between various parts on the trail.

WAR TRAILS, SOUTHWARD.

As stated before, practically all of the War Trails ran southward. Of course, during the period of the frontier wars the regular trading trails leading westward to the Ohio, became the war trails of the hostile Delaware and Shawnee. But, this warlike use of the Kittanning, the Shamokin, the Frankstown and the Allegheny trails was brought about by the struggle between the French and the British for the possession of the Ohio. They were not distinctively war paths.

The Iroquois War Trails ran southward from the habitat of the Iroquois Confederation in New York to the country of the Cherokee and Catawba in the Carolinas.

When this war of extermination between the Iroquois and the Catawba and Cherokee commenced is difficult to tell. It probably had its origin in the expulsion of the Cherokee and Catawba from the upper waters of the Allegheny river. The Talligewe, or Cherokee, formerly lived on the upper Ohio or Allegheny river (the name Allegheny is a perpetuation of the memory of this Iroquoian tribe—Talligewehanna, which has been corrupted to Allegheny, meaning "river of the Talligewe, or Allegewe"). The policy of the Iroquois Confederacy was either to confederate or blot out all of the tribes related to them. The Erie, Neuter and Andaste (or Susquehannock) did not confederate and were therefore destroyed. The same fate was intended for the Cherokee who fled southward to the Carolinas and saved themselves because of the miles of mountain barriers between their savage relations and themselves. But, the distance and the difficulties of carrying on a warfare did not stop the Iroquoise warriors. They carried the war into Carolina, from their habitat in New York. These Iroquois diplomats and warriors had a vision of a Pan-Iroquoian Empire, and they meant to see that vision become a reality. It is not difficult to see what might have happened if the white man had not interfered with this plan by coming to

the continent. The Iroquois Confederacy was the only strong union of related tribes on the continent, and when the settlement of the Atlantic coast by the Europeans commenced the Iroquois had conquered, or driven out, every foe from the great lakes to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. A Pan-Iroquoian Empire was about to be realized—when the white man came. It has always been so. The German army almost reaches Paris, and something happens to throw him back. The Iroquois, having the same dream and the same method of seeking its realization, almost attains his object, when something happens—in this case, as in the more recent one, it was the spread of civilization—and his dream ends.

The war parties of the Iroquois travelled over the many miles from their habitat in New York to the land of their hated relatives in the Carolinas, bent upon blotting them out. One of their statesmen said at one of the councils held with the Penns that this war had been on “since the world commenced and that it would end when the Cherokee and Catawba were blotted out”. This war was in progress when the settlements on the Delaware were first commenced by the English, and it was carried on across the State of Pennsylvania until the last war path was blotted out in the settlement of western Pennsylvania.

The two main Iroquois War Trails southward were the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers. This, of course, is a general statement, as there were many branches of both of these trails. But, it may be said, with some degree of accuracy, that all of the Iroquois War Trails, southward, had their starting points on the headwaters of one or the other of these two rivers. The Seneca, the great warriors of the confederacy, occupied the most strategic position of any of the tribes, as they could reach all of the main trails southward on both of these rivers. The Allegheny, the Genesee, the Tioga, the Chemung, as well as the creeks leading to the West Branch, were all roads to the main war trail southward.

It would be interesting to give an outline of the course of all of these branch war trails from the Iroquois country to the various points of meeting on the main war trails, but space forbids. The chief points of intersection, or meeting, of these various branch trails, were, as stated before concerning the Trading Trails, at Lock Haven, Sunbury, Huntingdon and Harrisburg, or to give the old names, at the Big Island, Shamokin, Standing Stone and Paxtang. These places were the meeting points for the warriors of the Iroquois as they went southward, and also the places at which their victories were celebrated after their return and before they separated for the various trails leading to the villages from which they had gathered.

Many branch trails centered at the Big Island, at Lock Haven. One of these ran from the Wyoming Valley almost due west to Muncy, and then up the West Branch; another ran down Pine Creek to Jersey Shore; another down Lycoming Creek to Williamsport. All of these joined the Main Trail leading down the Bald Eagle Valley to Standing Stone, on the Juniata, where it joined the "Warriors Road", which ran along the eastern foot of the Warriors Ridge, crossing the Potomac at Oldtown, Maryland.

Standing Stone (now Huntingdon) was the chief trail center for the war paths from the West Branch and the upper Susquehanna. The trail from Shamokin (now Sunbury) crossed the Susquehanna just about the end of Packer's Island to the break in the mountain opposite Sunbury, and then ran along the foot of the Allegheny mountains to Huntingdon, where it joined the Juniata Trail, the Raystown branch of the Frankstown Trail and the Warriors Road, leading to Bloody Run, Oldtown, etc.

This "Warriors Road" was both an old and a new one. It had been used by the Iroquois long before the coming of the white man, and then it had been abandoned for a while as the easier path down the Cumberland Valley, from Harrisburg to Williamsport, on the Potomac, had been the



Once an Indian Trail, now a city street, Carlisle, Pa.



Near Old Town, Maryland, where the Warrior's Trail crossed the Potomac.

favorite route to the south. But, as the lower Susquehanna river region and the Cumberland Valley became dotted with the villages of the white man, this course became more and more impossible as a road for Indians on the war path. Finally the matter came before the Province and the Six Nations at the Council at Lancaster in 1762. Governor Hamilton in his address to the Six Nations at this treaty says: "Now Brethren, I must acquaint you that all the way from Harris' Ferry to Potowmack, the white people are settled very thick, so that should your warriors now use that Path, frequent Differences between them and the Inhabitants might probably arise, by means whereof the peace so lately established between us, may be endangered. And I must desire you, for this reason, to use your best interest with the Warriors in case they are determined to go to war, that they would pursue the old War path from Shamokin, which lies at the foot of the Allegheny Hills, & which is the nearest Way to their Enemie's Country." (Col. Rec. VIII. 769). In order to make this request of more authority a trading house was to be established at "Daniel Cressip's House" at Oldtown, Maryland.

In a letter to the Governor of Virginia, Governor Hamilton, in referring to this matter, says: "At a Treaty which I held last Month with a large body of Western and Northern Indians, the Chiefs of the Six Nations acquainted me that it was detirmined to continue the War against their old Enemies, the Cherokees: and as they were informed that their War path through Virginia was stopt up by some late Settlements of White people on it, they desired I would forward their request to you to have it opened, & that I would loose no time in doing it, some of their Warriors being then present, and intending to go to the South as soon as the Treaty Should be over. I did by no means approve of this * * * but desire they would not go this way, but take their old path that led by Shamokin & the Foot of the

Allegheny Hills. This they conceded to, tho with reluctance." (Op. Cit. 780.)

From this time until the settlement of the valley south of Huntingdon, this Warriors Road was used by the Iroquois in all of their raids against the Cherokee and Catawba. They went in canoes to Shamokin (Sunbury) or down the West Branch to the Big Island, and then took the overland route to Standing Stone, where they took the Warriors Road southward. After the settlement of the Central Pennsylvania region they again moved their roadway westward, taking the old "Catawba Trail", which ran from the Allegheny river across Westmoreland and Fayette county, through Connellsville and Uniontown to the Maryland line. This trail was joined by various branches known as "Warriors Trails" in southwestern Pennsylvania.

In later days, when the white settlements began to cover western Pennsylvania, the war parties went down the Allegheny river to the site of Pittsburgh, and then up the Monongahela river to where the old path southward crossed this stream.

Thus, not only did the white man drive away the red men from their villages along the great rivers, but they also drove westward the War Trails until they were at last lost in the waters of the Peaceful Ocean.

The War trails of the Iroquois have become the trails of peace and industry. Over the same course where once walked these war-painted warriors on their mission of death and destruction, there to-day thunders the mighty trains on a road-way of steel, carrying the wealth of farm and mine and workshop to the four corners of the earth.

Let us earnestly hope that the days for the carrying the munitions of death and destruction have ended for the white man, as they have long since ended for the red man, and that henceforth all of these highways of civilization may be used to carry the blessings of our wonderful State to men of every race and color.



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